574
166
591 /55 cont./ parents, and he goes there "to get better." A
592 child that is a "nuisance" is temporarily housed with a brother
[855] or sister of his parents who live in the immediate vicinity.
[861] Experience teaches that in another environment such naughtiness goes away most readily. A younger sister of the wife regularly comes to stay "for company" with a newly married couple that has just obtained its own house. When a young man marries, his younger brother comes with him for a while "in order to take care of the buffaloes there." A woman who is angry at her husband asks one of her female relatives, who are at the same time neighbors, to come and sleep with her. The rejection is clear. Viewed rationally, these are all valid reasons in Makassarese country. The result is that housemates rarely stay in a house in the same combination. As such, therefore, housemates do not form
[602] a stable group. Men or women, married or unmarried but always kinsmen, regularly come to visit, for the most varied reasons, and stay for a short or longer period of time. Horizontal mobility is a function of the related group (1).

1. This mobility seems to me to be equal to that of the prewar period. Nothing would suggest that the Japanese period or contacts thereafter had a stimulating influence upon this mobility.

158
865 To give a reason for these frequently occurring migrations can only be done by way of suggestion. To this end, however, another element of this culture must first be described; this is the condition of "adjallo."

Adjallo' is best described as a fit of temper. The individual throws himself to the ground; he screams and kicks violently for a few minutes, and when the attack has passed

581 /139 cont./ feast, in which this purpose finds expression, and the difficulties which crop up on this occasion are the topic of the second part.

558 /140/ As a companion phenomenon, the vertical
562 tendency includes the sense of siri', that is, the sense of going down in social standing in relation to someone else. The fact that a woman must not go down in standing means that the slightest impairment of her social standing arouses the most violent reactions. There are various ways of escaping such a reaction. Marriage by flight is an example. It will be discussed extensively, among other things, in the third part of this chapter because it forms a spectacular phenomenon in Makassarese society, one that constantly leads to difficulties in the practice of administration and jurisdiction.

First Part

852 Immediately at birth a difference is made in the ritual between a boy and a girl. The parappo, the essence of the offering to be presented, differs with respect to the number of betel leaves of which it consists, depending on whether
857 it is intended for a boy (6) or for a girl (7). Children play together up to the age of eight to ten years. Informants
● 855 said that girls were always treated more gently than boys, for instance, that they were not beaten.

857 Not until the age of six years, so far as I was able to observe, were little boys taught that they are not allowed
867 other things than girls /sic/. Boys of that age accompany their father to the pasar; girls stay at home. Boys are sent away when young girls (tau lolo) are getting dressed and making themselves up. When little girls are naughty, they are threatened with: "I'll make you sit with the boys." Boys are not threatened with having to sit with the girls. They would find it momentarily unpleasant, so I was told, but they are freer in their movements and would therefore

858 /142 cont./ first menstruation, the girls are "caged"
867 (nikappara'); the separation from the other sex is thereby completed. From now on she is also subject to the many restrictions in social relations which obtain between men and women in general and between unmarried men and women in particular. "She is already staying at home" (ammantammi ri balla') is an indication of the age of a girl when she is around ten years old. At this time she enters
[291] the group of women, where she belongs to the young girls (tau lolo), who are also called "the red jackets" (badju' edja), after the conspicuous red jacket of slightly transparent material which they wear.

867 She learns that she must withdraw at the arrival of male visitors, that she may not be conspicuous, and that she must lower her voice. The girl who enters the front room (kale balla') even though there are guests is told off with a disapproving "she dares." A girl who talked loudly was angrily asked: "Who do you want to hear your voice?" If
[864] a girl shows her desire for a man by being conspicuous and by talking loudly, she is considered late (man-crazy), one of the most undesirable qualities in a girl.

857 A young girl only leaves the house in the company
867 of older women. Little excursions are holidays for her. She dresses carefully for these occasions; she makes herself up, blackens her eyebrows and the hairline on her forehead,
855 /143/ and powders her face. The older women guard and protect her. In their presence a young girl is safe. If she is alone at home or in the yard and a man enters the yard accidentally, a dangerous situation is created because this encounter, regardless of the intention of both parties, is
[626] considered a breach of established forms of social intercourse. If a neighbor woman were to see and talk about it, so that the girl's brother hears of it, the latter would feel siri' and act accordingly.

858 /143 cont./ Boys seem to go through a difficult period
867 at the age of approximately eleven to fourteen years. Before that, despite small differences from the girls, they were considered to be children, and as such they quite naturally stayed in the women's rooms. But around the age of ten to eleven, the older women make it plain to them that they
561 no longer belong there. Compared to women, however, men
562 have less unity. For them the difference in age plays a much more important role. It prevents the smooth interaction between older and younger men, because the older expect
561 obedience and a certain respect from the younger. The young
●855 boys therefore find no unity in the group of men which makes them feel at home. At the same time they do not possess
858 the sexual maturity to participate in the boasting conversations about conquests and sexual achievements that are customary in the circle of young men. They are physically not yet strong enough to participate in brawls and great work schemes, and therefore they cannot talk about their exploits. They do not count among the fifteen- to eighteen-year-olds. At the same time these twelve-year-old boys have not yet had much opportunity to associate with each other. So they first look for their age mates. They roam around, they are little noticed, and they don't feel at home anywhere.

Division of Labor

462 The domain of the women is house and yard. There they cook, wash, weave, and take care of the children. They leave the house only to pay visits or to run over to neighbors, who are also the closest kinsmen. When male visitors arrive they withdraw into the back part of the house. There is the kitchen; there they have their own separate
462 entrance. One could regard the women as a group whose
476 members /144/ help each other with daily household problems,

177 /144 cont./ 2. As yet there is no rice mill in Goa. In the colonists' kampongs, 200 kilometers north of Macassar, the men do the pounding for the landowner, but not for their own consumption. Rice-pounding wages are high.
256

461 The spare time which women gained was not used
855 toward new objectives. It was devoted to small children who are not let out of sight for a moment. In the house or in the yard their own mother or one of the neighbor's girls
461 is always with them. During the rest of the time women
574 visit each other. This promotes companionship and strengthens their mutual ties. They exchange kampong and family news and drink coffee on these occasions. These visits are always paid in little groups of a number of older women and a few younger ones, nicely dressed, accompanied by one of their closest male kinsmen.

/145/ Men's work is in the sawahs in the broadest sense,
462 from manufacturing agricultural implements to carrying in sheaves of paddy. Furthermore, it is their job to work in the garden, to construct and repair the house, as well as to do all the little tasks in which wood or bamboo must be
443 cut down or worked. They run errands at the pasar (1) and
462

1. In early July, 1949, the visitors to the Pasar Bontomanai (Borongloë) were registered as 62 women and 904 men.

105 /239 cont./ the vertical tendency is strong, and integration is either not present at all or else in a very weak form. In kin groups like that of the adat community head, that of the kapala and that of Mangenre, the striving for integration is time and again interrupted through oppositional striving. The vertical tendency and thus, at the same time, the disintegration of the group can best be observed among the prominent members.

In a kin group where an ornament is present, integration can always be more clearly shown than in one where the ornament is absent. Kin groups lacking an ornament seem incapable of forming a power center of significance. Stability, on the other hand, is found only where the vertical articulation is fixed. The vertical tendency inherent in the /240/ kin groups constantly has as a consequence the renewed disintegration of these groups.

262 South Celebes is a land with a large surface, in relation to its population, suited to wet rice cultivation. If the rice harvest has failed, maize is available to take its place. There seems to be no fear of a threatening food shortage among the Makassarese and Buginese.

●855 Small children are well cared for over a long period of time by their mothers and female housemates. By the same token, there seems to be no fear of receiving insufficient care.

867 One of the first things a young person learns is the fact
155 that he is restricted in his movements and that he must be quiet when a man, even his father, is present in the house. Upon the arrival of a male guest the women and children withdraw from the front room, and the children are reprimanded if they make noise. This happens to a greater degree when a higher person comes to the house. Here are the first frustrations for the children (1).

Batak OD5
Javanese OE5
Malays AN5
Makassar OG6 ●

I
291
301
174
Bt
I
777
301
776

[51 cont.]

It is not difficult to answer the question as to what the origin of this ornament is. It is reported of the Batak that this object is definitely used now as an amulet that the children wear in front of the genitals (7), from which, we believe, one can conclude

7. Neumann, Tijdschr. Ned Aard. Gen., 1886, more extensive articles, 2, p. 30.

[52] that formerly the other tribes among whom we found it also attached this meaning to the object. In my study on the ithyphallic images of the peoples of the Malay Archipelago, I noted the fact that among the most civilized peoples the penis, and among the more highly developed peoples a representation of the penis, is used to drive off evil spirits, particularly the pontianaq, whereas the imitation of the penis serves primarily to counter the influence of the evil eye (1).

1. Wilken, Bijdragen t.d. T. L. en Vlk. v. Ned. Indië, Vol. XXXV, p. 393 ff.

MI
MK
J
I
291
●855
884

The first garment worn by the children of the more highly developed peoples, the Javanese, Malays, Makassarese, and Buginese, is the chest-protector, which is fastened around the neck and stomach with bands. The name of this garment is oto or otoh, in Javanese oto, and in Makassarese and Buginese otŏ (2). Among

2. Veth, Java, Vol. I, p. 603. Van der Tuuk and Van der Wall, Maleisch woordenboek, see oto. Matthes, Makassaarsch and Boegineesch Wrdb., see otó.

the less civilized, as well as among the still wholly uncivilized, the children are dressed as adults as soon as they reach marriageable age.

Makassar OG6
Celebes OG1

South Celebes: Kuurman said that the league of three (Bone, Soppeng, Wadjo) was the most powerful unit here. It is headed by Bone. In the past, Goa was next to Bone, or at times vice versa. Now the Bone ruler is the kepala daerah, and Goa furnishes only the second man. (There must be an interesting psychological relationship here.) C 634

[Makassar] Abdul Rahim is not a Christian. He is a Mohammedan. But he told me that he was not too devout, as he sees good in all sects. He reads the Bible, for example. He is evidently one of the people in Makassar who belongs to a kind of "ethical culture society" which studies and discusses all religions, taking good points from each. I have heard about this in various quarters and wonder if they are mostly natives, mostly Christians, or what. M 115 795

Second trip to Balombaru, Tuesday, August 16th, 1949: When we left there last Friday, I asked when we should go again; maybe Saturday or Sunday? He [Abdul Rahim, the author's assistant--Analyst] said "No, Monday." Maybe this was so he could find an assistant, but I wonder if it may not have been to give the people a chance to talk the project over. I doubt the latter. Anyway, we went there and tried to see the Karaëng, but he was not in yet. Incidentally, I had to see the people today, as tomorrow is Independence Day and everything will be closed. There were lots of people in the Karaëng's office and a distribution of clothing was going on. But there were also many people coming in to see about something, possibly taxation. They all had a paper, which may have been a form or a type of bill. There was much talk regarding money, and I thought this was like the government in general. As a rule there is always some charge. I left from the Karaëng's place saying that I would return later and went to the Kepala kampong [head of the native village]. He lives in a pretty good house such as all notables seem to own. It is built in native style. He is a fine lad, young, good looking, pleasant, and gay. He is also well dressed. In the house there were also several others. I sat to the right of the Kepala kampong at the table. Rahim sat in front of him. The lad who is to be my assistant sat to the left of the Kepala kampong, and then there were about three other individuals sandwiched in. Everyone was ready to talk and the whole atmosphere was informal and impressively pleasant. Around the room sat young lads, girls and women. One older boy spoke up once or twice and received no rebuke. Everything was serene and there was no squabbling. Children behaved very well. The Kepala kampong has, I think, four or five children. M 124 M 124 576 855

124 They are small and pretty. They came from time to time to
576 sit on his lap and looked at me. He was serene and his
children were wonderful in behavior. Rahim got to the point
● 855 at once and the Kepala kampong said that this fellow was the
man. He indicated a rather angular fellow perhaps twenty-
five years old, the kind of Adam's appled type. However, he
seemed keen enough. He attended school (lower school only)
463 with Rahim. Then he [i.e., assistant to author--Analyst] got
311 into a trade working with a gold and silver smith. This
happens to be one of the main trades of the village. Rahim
said there were some farmers in the village, but there was
not much wet rice land in the area. However, many people
have sawah in other kampongs. Other trades in the village
involved commercial enterprises, and being a prau man. A
river runs by here and it is mentioned in Friederícy as the
one where Goa once levied a river mouth tax on all praus. I
124 later found out that the lad was willing to give up his trade
465 for a while and work for me. He was somewhat ashamed
156 when Rahim asked him about a salary. He said he would
leave that matter up to me and Rahim said that this was act-
ing as a typical Makassarese, that is malu [timid, shy,
ashamed], although I wonder if he would be so malu when
talking about pay with the Chinese who runs the gold and
silver business. Later I talked with Rahim about the matter
of salary for this man. He told me that things were expen-
sive now, the man had to give up his work, and so forth. He
added that he needed more than three to four guilders a day
[593] for his family. And he added that if he did not receive enough
his wife would complain. Evidently he must keep his wife
happy. So even among the Makassarese a wife nags. Rahim
is very strong on the point of getting and keeping in the good
graces of one's wife. This is a revelation to me, as I thought
women in Mohammedan lands kept their mouths shut. But
here, perhaps, is an indication of the underlying qualities of
Malayo-Polynesian women. Rahim finally said that one hun-
dred rupiah per month would be all right. I asked about the
regular pay which a smith might receive. He said that it
was very good, as much as f.10 or f.15 per day. I then said
that maybe f.100 was too low, and that I would go up to f.150.
He seemed pleased that I was not going to be a chiseler, and
said that I could pay a reasonable salary and then if I wanted
to, at the end, I could give a bonus. I asked if I had better
not give some sort of advance, and he agreed. Hence I gave
f. 30 to be given to the assistant (named Mohammed Saleh)
who will call on Rahim Thursday after Hari Merdeka.

that if you gave them money they would sit on your knee and if you dropped money down the front of their upper garment you could feel their breasts. This seemed very amusing to him. 584 834

Saleh does well with the schedule, but answers the questions as briefly as possible, and in some cases the full meaning of his statements is not evident. But he got me on one thing. The translation he used of the schedule had given imigrasi for immigration. Saleh had looked this up in a little dictionary he had and there he found the strict meaning of immigration. He followed this, and gave information only on people from outside of the country, for example Chinese, Javans. 125

Classes: I noted that Saleh had indicated on the map such class designations as bangsa hamba[slaves] and others as turunan radja [nobles]. The rest are commoners. The commoners have noble blood, but because of marriage, usually below, have dropped in class. This seems to be the great cause of dropping. As for the slaves, Saleh said there were plenty, years ago. They at one time constituted perhaps 50 per cent of the population. He said that, for example, if there were ten freemen in a house, ten slaves would be the usual number. His hadji father had plenty of slaves. There are two sorts: sossorang and dibuwang. They laughed to hear that I have such names in my notes. As they talked I could see that the two old men knew the family history of everyone. With ease, and quickly, they were able to say whether any given person was hamba or not. In one case, however, there was some discussion. It turned out that the person was half slave. Thus he was almost maradeka [commoners, freemen]. They said that Saleh's family is maradeka badji and so is Rahim's. 565 558 567

Education: Saleh said that Rahim's father had had to sell plenty in order to send him to school. 855

Classes: When slaves became "free", many of them went to Makassar and other places. In fact, there was a general exodus of them. Thus many people, say in Makassar, are of slave origin. (As in an English city population which may be largely drawn from lower rural class when serfdom stopped, and this is so throughout Europe.) As slavery went the wealth of the upper class decreased, because there was no longer a large labor force. This is at the bottom of the decline of the radja class, they said. Nearly all slaves went away. But some stayed on and they will be noted in the census. As for calling them hamba, they said that they get very angry if you do so. But there seems to be some difference as to 567 558 166 152 000